

PEACE NEWS

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Steel—and "Efficiency"

by JOHN SCANLON

"The Battle of Steel Has Begun."

SO run the headlines in the daily newspapers. They are behind the times. The battle of steel began shortly after the 1870 war. It has been raging ever since, and it has been a losing battle for all nations, with the British section suffering greater casualties than its opponents. Yet the story of British steel is in reality the story of International Economic Warfare.

Today there are two plans for the industry—one drafted by the industry itself, intended to make the industry efficient under private enterprise. The Government will not accept this plan for the reason that it is not efficient enough. The Government has a plan of its own which, it is believed, will make the industry more efficient than is possible under private enterprise.

Efficient for what?

The chief questions, however, seem to be: What is efficiency? and what are we being efficient for? As to the first, the mere fact of being able to make steel from iron was considered a mark of efficiency. In time that was taken for granted, and marks for efficiency were determined by the ability to sell steel more cheaply than a home rival. That achieved, the next goal was to sell it more cheaply than a foreign rival. That is the goal today, and if we are to take an interest in the battle, a knowledge of how the fight proceeded during the 20th century will enable us to know when to move our little flags forward, and also back again.

The main purpose of the battle, until 1934 at any rate, was to give away a greater quantity of steel than any other nation. Until the '70's we sold as much as the rest of the world put together. In the '90's Europe and America began to surpass us. Our production had sunk to 25 per cent. of world output. By 1913 it had sunk to 10 per cent. In that year Europe sold us its highest figure—2.2 million tons. Note the year. War preparations were on.

By 1917, however, British home production had reached its maximum—9.7 million tons.

But then peace came to the earth, and also to the steel producers. In 1920 we produced 8 million tons of pig iron: In 1921, 2 million. In 1923-4, because of disturbances in the Ruhr production, our output rose to 7 million tons. But even at that, our steel industry could only use 66 per cent. of its blast furnace capacity, and 80 per cent. of its steel capacity.

In a review of the position up till 1929 a British Association Report said: "The industry was beginning to reap the benefit of technical efficiency." Then came the slump.

Now in 1930 Mr. J. H. Thomas had tried to make it efficient by lending it

New Foundations—but the old Churchill

OBSOLETE MIDDLE EAST "STRATEGY"

BRITAIN is compelled—not only by the ineluctable facts of the new power-situation, but also by the change of basis in her domestic government—to seek new foundations for her position in the Middle East.

Mr. Churchill's insistence on strategic necessities, posited in entire abstraction both from the new constellation of power as between Britain and Russia, and the social and economic upheaval of the Middle East in general during the war-years, is merely a manifestation of the incurable obsolescence of his mind. Members of the House of Commons flock to hear him. I suppose I should be in the queue myself were I an M.P. But I should be very acutely conscious that I was witnessing an exhibition

Observer's Commentary

of "by-gones"—the Lord Lonsdale of modern world-politics.

We British, notoriously, like survivals and eccentrics: we are afflicted with a permanent nostalgia—not surprising when one thinks how remarkably snug and smug we were in the 19th century. At the same time it is dangerous to indulge our affection for Churchill—the boy who won't grow up—because far too many Englishmen are inclined to think as he does. Even Mr. Bevin is not wholly immune from this tendency to recidivism. It creeps into Mr. Attlee's speeches. It pushes a dangerous adverb to the tip of Mr. Morrison's tongue.

A good grace

IT is probably true that the members of the Cabinet did, as Mr. Morrison said, come "reluctantly" to the conclusion that Britain must withdraw her troops from Egypt. That was probably the psychological fact: but it ought not have been. Once the necessity of radical change in our position in the Middle East is recognised, once it is admitted that it must be based on the free consent of the nations there, it is best to accept the inevitable with a good grace.

Even so, the problems are but slightly simplified. For it is very doubtful whether any government or political order in the Middle East is secure to-day. Russia's combination of the strong hand with a direct

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Appeasement would not end Russian expansion, says Paul Winterton

A SOMBRE view of Russian policy was taken by Paul Winterton, the News Chronicle's war-time correspondent in Moscow, when he spoke to a crowded Kingsway Hall lunch-hour audience, under National Peace Council auspices last Friday.

"The deadlock at the Foreign Ministers' conference is due to the fact that Russia has deliberately rejected a policy of give-and-take co-operation with the West, and instead is consciously pursuing a policy of ideological penetration and national expansion," said Mr. Winterton.

Russia, alone of the Powers' came out of the war "substantially aggrandized." Bearers of the new names cropping up in the huge stretch of Europe and Asia which she now dominated, militarily or politically, had been Moscow-trained for the jobs which they now hold—Tito in Yugoslavia, Bierut in Poland, and, most recent of all, Pechevari in "Persian Azerbaijan." In this vast territory all the principles for which the last war appeared at the time to be fought had been overthrown. All the elements of policy, repugnant to British ideas, such as the secret police and the concentration camp for political dissidents, had now been installed.

Whether Russia was actuated wholly by a quest for security or had succumbed to the natural temptation of great power to expand he would not judge. Perhaps it had been a bit of both. In either case it did not alter the facts. It was not only in Russian-occupied Germany and in Persia that Soviet policy had been aggressively expansionist and directed to installing puppet Governments, but also, for instance, in Manchuria, which she had evacuated in such a way that the Chinese

In Hungry Europe

HUMANITY IS UNCONDITIONALLY FORBIDDEN

"Cases have occurred recently of troops taking civilians (mostly children) into CVW clubs and canteens. It is stressed that this is unconditionally forbidden."

THIS notice has been published in the First Corps district of BAOR (according to a BUP message, May 13), so frequently are British soldiers in Germany disregarding the ban on giving food to hungry civilians.

The Observer reports that stocks of grain in the British zone will be completely exhausted by the end of this month. Without fresh supplies the nominal ration must be cut next month to 500 calories a day—less than half the present starvation ration.

Mr. Herbert Morrison, in Washington for urgent food talks with the President, declared that "Famine will soon be killing civilians and turning out future fascists more quickly than Hitler and Mussolini ever succeeded in doing."

Mr. Dingle Foot, who as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Economic Warfare had to administer the blockade, struck a similar note when he told the Liberal Party conference:

"If conditions of famine are permitted to exist in Germany, if the United Nations fail to do everything in their power to relieve the situation, nothing is more certain than that the ghost of Hitler will walk again."

The dissatisfaction of Mr. La Guardia, newly-appointed Director-General of UNRRA with the latest allocations of the Combined Food Board appears to grow and his "walk-out" from a recent meeting of the Board has been followed by rumours of his impending resignation.

Meanwhile, the international conference called by Sir John Boyd Orr for the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) meets on May 20, out of which may come an entirely new organization superseding both UNRRA and the Combined Boards, on the assumption that famine "will continue to plague the world for five years."

For the moment the Combined Board, which was to have been wound up on June 30 is to continue—at least until the end of the year.

The position in India is that of the 1,400,000 tons of grain allocated to her by the Board for the current three months—much less than her estimated minimum requirements—only 300,000 tons has so far been sent.

MIXED MOTIVES

THE news that British troops were to be withdrawn from Egypt looked like the beginning of a chain that might lead our nation, and after it the world, far towards the abandonment of power politics, and so to the end of war. We soon learned however that the decision had been taken with reluctance; that the atom bomb had made the retention of troops in the Canal Zone superfluous; that the holding of Palestine sufficed to secure imperial communications; that Cyrenaica offered an alternative air base—where the Senussi fortunately would look upon it as a betrayal if they were placed under Italian trusteeship. In the Julian March concessions to Yugoslavia would similarly be a gross neglect of ethnic principles. But South Tyrol is to be retained by Italy and the expulsion of Germans from Pomerania and Sudetenland continues.

AND

Britain's biggest battleship has been dedicated by special divine service, attended by Princess

Elizabeth; the Head of our National Church approves the use of atomic bombs to restrain aggressors—of which a socialist weekly explains, "Britons need never fear being caught without a smug conscience."

We all know the difficulty, in this complex world, of loyalty to conscience. But our pledge is a token that we are striving towards it, without cynicism or self-righteousness, and recognizing everywhere fellow-men who, whilst not agreeing with us, are equally sincere.

When contributing to our HQ Fund you are acting not from mixed motives, but in pure devotion to a

FIXED PURPOSE

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Moonshine to Madness

"If the Versailles treaty was economic moonshine," said Mr. Michael Foot in the debate on conditions in Germany, "the Potsdam agreement was madness on a colossal scale." In a notable series of articles, now reprinted by the National Peace Council ("The German Crisis," 4d.) The Economist pronounced: "The Potsdam Diktat makes the Treaty of Versailles look like a Pan-German love-feast." There is, apparently, no English politician who does not share these views, though he may not express them so forcibly. That is, at least, a significant difference between British opinion at the time of Versailles, when it was overwhelmingly in support of the treaty, and today.

Partly the change is due to the painful education of British opinion into economic realities, and the widespread sense that the economic crash of 1929-1931 had at least something to do with the rise of Hitler; partly it is due to the realization that the Potsdam agreement is not so much a peace-settlement imposed on Germany by the Allies, as one imposed upon the Allies by Russia. Russia, it is true, did not participate in the economic crash of 1929-31. She was insulated from that. If world-prices plunged downwards, it did not matter to Russia. Her share in world-trade was exceedingly small, and even if it had been larger, still it would not have mattered. For, if what she had to exchange on the world-market was much cheaper, so were the things she wanted to buy.

Russia, we may conclude, looks with a certain complacency on the prospect of another economic crash in the capitalist world. By allowing, or rather pushing, the German economy into catastrophe, she throws a spanner as big as a shovel into the already groggy works of capitalist Europe. On the other side, USA with all the pressure-apparatus of the Loan and Bretton Woods is trying to force us to keep those works going, though we really know better. But we cannot face the fearful

austerities of a sequence of Five Year plans—above all in a country in which the existing disproportion between industry and agriculture has become traditional.

So we—that is, not only Britain, but all the countries of Western Europe—are in a very perilous position indeed. And the worst part of our situation is that Western Europe has no clear, common and coherent policy. Even the feeling that Democratic Socialism offers the way out between the colossal faces of American individualist capitalism and Russian collectivist socialism, is far more definite in Britain than it is in France. But even in Britain it is incoherent and contradictory in its manifestations. It is only vaguely appreciated that USA and Russia are in themselves continents, and that a middle way (politically and economically) between them can only be found if Britain becomes part of a similar grouping with comparable resources.

Again, Russia gets in first with her propaganda. Barely has the idea of a federation of Social Democracies begun to take shape in British minds when Russia is in full cry against it as "a Western bloc." The hostile propaganda is fully developed before the tentative idea has assumed any definite shape at all.

Nevertheless, we must stick to it. Things look desperate indeed at the moment. But it is highly probable that Russia, in destroying the European works, has created problems for herself which she cannot solve. She has expanded too rapidly, and by too brutal means. It is by no means a foregone conclusion that, even if Communism does sweep westward to the Atlantic, it will be able to hold its ground.

Our job is to think out resolutely—clearing our minds of the traditional cant—what democratic socialism, nationally and internationally, really is: what it implies, how it is to be prevented from sliding down the slippery slope of totalitarianism. What are the economics, the politics, the philosophy the morality of democratic socialism? That, we believe, is the real task of pacifism to-day.

LETTERS

Creative activity

WHILE I appreciate the good intentions behind the "Basic Issues" report No. 2, I cannot help deploring the fact that many pacifists seem to be falling into basic error through a misuse of words.

The word "work" is being given false emphasis. Any plan for the future which does not concern itself principally with leisure is reactionary. It is only in leisure that man can face his soul. And those who have had the courage to face the problem of leisure with a live spirit know that it does not mean idleness. The point is that the occupations of leisure are "creative activity"; and this is what man needs to make him man (a thinking creature) and not slave. The man who avoids the essential experience of discovering and making his own "creative activity" (meditation, work in the garden, art, etc.) is escaping, maybe through some full-time plan of useful and satisfying work, the business of being spiritually alive.

Naturally, there is a certain amount of work which must be done for the good of the community. But we all know how labour-saving devices were, and are, shelved by people who want to keep alive the old work order. Actually, if everyone worked two hours a day, it should be sufficient (in an age of full mechanization) for communal needs. To worry about making essential work more interesting, is to forget the main issue. The two hours may be accepted as discipline, if the

rest of the day is "lived." The essential thing is not the work but the leisure and creative activity.

I would, therefore, beg the Committee to reconsider the wording of the statements. This will not be so much a change of intention, but a vital change of spiritual emphasis. The man who possesses the words "creative activity" is no longer the worker and conscript.

OSWELL BLAKESTON.

Beech House, Ashburton, Devon.

"None shall escape"

A witness at Nuremberg, Dr. Paul Schmidt, of the German Foreign Office, has told how at the fateful meeting at the Reich Chancellery on Sept. 3, 1939, Goering said to him: "If we lose this war, then Heaven help us!"

Do not these simple words epitomize the whole war? The German National Socialist leaders knew from the moment that war was declared that they were doomed men in the event of defeat.

During the First World War much abuse was levelled against the Kaiser. "Little Willie," "Tirpitz," etc., but such propaganda was merely incidental to the conduct of the war—just fuel to feed the fires of hate. Directly after the Armistice of 1918, this campaign ceased.

But the stream of invective directed against Hitler and his entourage from 1933 to 1945 was the very essence of the whole business. And every one of the Nazi leaders was thus inspired to "do his damndest," knowing full well that he was a marked man anyhow—marked down for execution whatever his conduct during the war might be. Rudolf Hess, in his desire to bring about peace with Britain, did not hesitate to jeopardize his political career and even his personal safety; by his flight from Germany he incurred Hitler's wrath and put himself in the power of his enemies. But this has not kept him out of the dock at Nuremberg.

Even if due allowance be made for misrepresentation of facts, it is certain that atrocities were committed under Hitler's regime during the war—and by his enemies, too! But the basic motive in the case of the Nazis was the ferocity that is born in desperation—of the knowledge that they were cornered and fighting literally for their lives.

"As well be hung for a sheep as a lamb!" Such was the Nazi motto; and deplorable though it may be, it was a perfectly logical state of mind under the circumstances.

E. W. P. VEALE.

73, The Vale, N.W.11.

SCIENCE AND PEACE

A new booklet by Aldous Huxley, published in U.S.A., reviewed by JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

ALDOUS HUXLEY has done the free society, and pacifism, a great service, in writing "Science, Liberty and Peace." He has provided them both with a profound social philosophy and a programme for action. Into one little book of 86 pages, he has gathered together the best pacifist thought in a beneficent synthesis, which he has enriched with his penetrating powers of analysis, and expounded with his admirable clarity.

The central theme of Huxley's book is that the abuse of applied science is one of the main causes of the decline of liberty and the increasing centralization of power during the 20th century. Because this decline of liberty and this progressive centralization of power have vastly increased the probability and the destructiveness of war, it is fallacious to imagine that war can be abolished without a steady effort to abolish the causes of war. Says Huxley:

"The enormous catastrophes of recent years have left the survivors thinking very much as they thought before. A horde of Bourbons, we return to what we call peace, having learned nothing and forgotten nothing, except, of course, the causes of war, which (what ver our intentions and our well-wordsed ideals) we do everything in our power to perpetuate."

That is not spoken primarily of pacifists; but neither are they excluded from it. In Huxley's view, pacifists are just as complacent as others in their acceptance of the abuses of applied science, in their belief in a State-Socialist Utopia in their lack of clearly conceived alternative to the mass-society, and in their ignorance of the need for one.

THE basic fact of contemporary society (says Huxley) is the growing centralization of power. Modern instruments of power make nonsense of the old techniques of popular revolt. Therefore, if any resistance is to be offered by the many to the few, it must be offered in a field where technological superiority does not count. Where democratic institutions exist, and are respected, the means of resistance are available. Where they do not exist, or are not respected non-violent resistance will be the only remedy. But it cannot promise success.

Second, the instruments of persuasion—e.g., the rotary press, the radio, and the cinema—are incomparably more efficient than those at the disposal of earlier ruling groups. Here the only remedy is self-denial.

These are the direct contributions of applied science to the centralization of power. Its indirect contributions are equally important. First, it has been mainly employed to facilitate large-scale mass-production and distribution. Whether the system is private or state-capitalism, the social effect is much the same. And the power of the Trade Unions themselves is similarly centralized. Second, it has created technological unemployment, and quickened the tempo of social change, thus creating increased insecurity. For this State Socialism is regarded as the remedy. But under complete State Socialism there are no power-systems within the community capable of resisting the almighty executive: therefore constitutional rules could not be observed. "Meanwhile, there is no question in the contemporary world of any popular movement in favour of liberty. On the contrary, the masses are everywhere clamouring for ever greater governmental control of everything."

THESE are the social and psychological consequences of the actual application of applied science, in which nearly everybody acquiesces. But such misuse of applied science is not inevitable. It is the consequence of a false philosophy. Science could just as well be applied

*Science, Liberty and Peace. (Fellowship Publications: New York. 50 cents).

WORDS OF PEACE - No. 171

Conformity is often a form of betrayal which can be carried out with a perfectly clean conscience; and the temptation to exchange the miseries which intellectual honesty entails for the heart-warming satisfactions of managerial efficiency is great.

—Arthur Koestler.

to increase the economic self-sufficiency and political independence of small owners, individually or in co-operative groups, working for subsistence and a local market instead of mass-production. Unless and until applied science is thus directed in accord with man's true needs, the peaceful society is impossible.

What are man's true needs? Food, clothing and shelter; and the opportunity to develop his latent capacities to the fullest degree compatible with the freedom and well-being of others. This requires (1) a fair measure of personal independence and personal responsibility within and toward a self-governing group, (2) work with intrinsic value and human significance, (3) an organic relation with his natural environment. All these are denied by modern industrial society. Yet these are the only secure foundations of liberty, and peace.

IT is frequently argued that any effort to secure the satisfaction of man's three fundamental needs is technologically retrogressive. This, says Huxley, is nonsense. That it is against the technological current is certainly true; but that is simply because modern technology is misdirected by a vicious philosophy.

On the whole mankind receives absolutely no advantage from the universal application of mass production and distribution. They are economically justified (as Borsodi has shown) for about one-third of the world production of goods: for the remaining two-thirds the economics of mass-production are cancelled by the increased costs of distribution. So that if economics alone were considered, two-thirds of production and marketing should be in regional and local units. And the satisfaction of that economic optimum would give a secure foundation for liberty, true democracy and peace.

We must also understand how strong is the hold of this false philosophy. It vitiates current conceptions of Socialism. For applied science twisted to serve the concentrations of financial power, created a new prosperity for the middle-class, in the 18th and 19th centuries. Their members made automatic Progress a dogma.

"So intense is the blind faith in this dogma that it has survived two world-wars and remains flourishing in spite of totalitarianism and the revival of slavery, of concentration camps and saturation-bombing." The dogma of the Golden Future is one of the worst enemies to present liberty.

Perversely applied science has still more explicitly corrupted the human mind. Because laboratory research proceeds by simplification, the same method is applied to the problems of human society. But in human society scientific method inevitably becomes "a process of restraint and regimentation, of curtailment of liberty and denial of human rights." Yet so great is the prestige of this false science and the power of its propaganda, that a regimented society, ordered by a single master plan from above, is felt by the planners and "even by the plannees" to be more "scientific" and therefore better than a society of independent, freely co-operating and self-governing individuals.

Thirdly, scientific simplification proceeds by abstraction. Hence the prevalence of statistical and reductive thought—"nothing but" thinking—which has powerfully reinforced the indifference to the values of human personality so hideously manifest in the war, and the peace.

(To be concluded)

HOUSMAN'S

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WILFRED WELLOCK and F. A. LEA contribute

TIME passes, and in passing brings changes, which often we are slow or disinclined to observe; or observing, to take into serious reckoning.

The first world war had the effect of transforming pacifism from a policy of war resistance pure and simple into an advocacy of international justice. It became anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist.

Unless I am greatly mistaken, the second world war was destined to affect the pacifist movement more profoundly still—to compel it to relate the issue of war and peace with man's values, to recognize that if peace is to triumph it can only do so as the result of the complete reorganization of individual and social life on the foundation of values which at present exist only for a very few.

I sat through the AGM and heard but a few sentences which revealed any awareness of the fundamental relationship between peace and social values. Only about four people drew attention to it. The outstanding issues (regarding future policy) raised were conscription and disarmament, yet members seemed bent on discussing them as if they were unrelated to the society in which they occur—its ambitions, aims and valuations.

The tragedy of conscripting youths of 17 to 20 needs no enlargement, neither do the horrors of atomic warfare. But the plain fact is, as Laurence Housman pointed out, that given the existing social system war is inevitable, and therefore conscription also sooner or later. This does not mean that conscription should not be opposed and made a major propaganda issue, but it does mean

that the propaganda should be vitally linked with the social system which makes it necessary.

The pursuit by socialist governments of the highest possible standard of living for their people will cause quite as much friction and quite as many wars as the pursuit of profits by capitalist governments.

ARCH-APOSTLE

One speaker saw great hope in Ernest Bevin's proffered readiness to adopt any means to bring peace, and asked the AGM to work in harmony with that fact. I, personally, believe in Bevin's deep sincerity, but I must also bear in mind that he is an arch-apostle of the high standard of (material) living fetish, and that at this moment he is supporting a policy whereby the ICI is to expand the British chemical industry and to capture Germany's foreign markets as one of the means of raising the standard of living of British workers—at the expense of the standard of living of German workers. Once again, therefore, we are being asked to keep a blind eye and to forget the underlying causes of two world wars, with which socialists were once familiar.

The issues of conscription and disarmament are further confused by the uncertainty of the fate of the atomic bomb. Some pacifists assume that it will be used, and thus that conscription is unnecessary. But others believe that the use of the "a.b." can be avoided by international action, in which case conscription and disarmament will continue to be live issues. I take the former view, but as I see total war, conflicting ideologies, military nihilism and mounting hosts of war criminals all coming straight out of the "social order" in logical sequence, I am compelled to link propaganda for no-conscription and disarmament with the necessity for fundamental changes in the social order arising out of a profound revolution in values, or what some would call a change of heart.

Accordingly I would ask the PPU to give careful consideration to the Report of the IISO Committee, now appearing in Peace News. I am convinced that unless the peace movement faces and tries to resolve the contradiction between peace and the social values of our time, it has no future.

Wilfred Wellock

WHY, I ask myself again this year, is our AGM so profoundly dispiriting? Why is it a gathering to which one would be ashamed to invite a non-pacifist? One might well be excused, after attending it, for suspecting that no such thing as a pacifist movement really existed; but only a phantasmagoria of ideas corresponding to no substantial reality.

We see time and temper expended endlessly on the correct formulation of principles. I am all for principles and programmes: they are the necessary working hypotheses on which we base our experiments, the indispensable means to an end. But pacifists, even more than other idealists, tend to treat them as ends in themselves, to credit them with a force in history quite apart from any activities based on them. In the early days of the PPU the formulation of hypotheses was all-important. After six years of war we might have expected them to be revised. If they are revised, it is without any reference to the experiment of experience. One could be excused for deducing that no such experiment had been conducted.

And this impression is reinforced by many of the ideas being ventilated: ideas on the capacity of men for co-operation, reconciliation, brotherly love, which a mere six months of community-living would have dissipated and replaced by hopes grounded in reality. Pacifists in general have re-

jected the discipline of community, and justified their rejection by pointing deviously to the countless communities which have flourished since 1939—so speedily, sometimes, that like the light of the fixed stars, evidence of their existence has reached us only after they have ceased to exist. The derisive pacifist seldom pauses to reflect on the implications of their founding has for the ideas which he also professes.

Yet I do not believe that the impression of Pacifist ineffectuality conveyed by the AGM who have spent years purging their principles is a true one. I have known too many C.O.'s in practice. What is true is that these C.O.'s are not vocally represented at the AGM. In other words, though a pacifist movement does exist, what passes for pacifist thought has little, if any, reference to its existence. This conjecture was verified by the way in which, at the latest AGM, it was just those representatives of our Union whose thought really is existential who came in for the most venomous abuse from the speakers, and yet received the most wholehearted support of the many who express their views only by voting.

The position is serious enough all the same. For if the PPU does not, through its general meetings and published statements, express the conclusions reached by experiment, and so clear the way for further activities based on these conclusions; if it does not give the moral support to pacifists which arises from an intellectual clarification of their experience, the sooner it ceases to exist the better: it is simply a source of confusion and discouragement.

FIVE-SIXTHS OUTSIDE

At this AGM it was mentioned that there were probably five times as many C.O.'s outside the PPU as in it. My own observations confirm this: and I would add that many of these are men and women devoting their whole energy to the work they believe themselves most fitted to accomplish in the service of peace. In the past, I have urged such people to join the Union: I have thought both it and they would benefit. But at every AGM since 1940—when the appointment of the Forethought Committee, the promulgation of the Affirmations (now forgotten), the re-orientation of Peace News, all seemed to reflect a convergence of theory and practice—I have grown increasingly dubious. This year the gap seems once again to have opened so far that I could no longer urge anyone to join without misgivings.

The presence of these C.O.'s outside the Union is as much the consequence as the cause of the divorce, between the experiment of the many and the expression of the few. Until this divorce is overcome, the only sign of health in our movement will be the continued dwindling of its numbers. To say that is, I know, to fall into an error I have condemned, that of stating a need without prescribing any means for its fulfilment, of leaving off at the point where one should begin—but I wonder how many pacifists will notice that?

F. A. LEA.

P.P.U. SUMMER SCHOOL

There are still a few vacancies for the PPU Summer School (August 31—Sept. 7). With the co-operation of local members the numbers can be increased and anyone who is willing to be "boarded-out" should send in their name immediately to John Barclay, at 64 Ellerton Road, S.W.18. It is hoped to arrange a day's outing to the Isle of Wight, and a Garden Party and members' rally is being organised by the Bournemouth group.

Golden Wedding at Bournemouth

On May 11, Bournemouth PPU had tea with Mr. and Mrs. Hull, and in this way celebrated their Golden Wedding. Five cakes bore the 50 candles and colleagues spoke of the untiring life-long work which both Mr. and Mrs. Hull have given to progressive movements. Pacifism owes a great debt to their faithful witness and many have been encouraged to carry on because of their cheerful friendship. The afternoon ended with musical honours, and speeches from Mr. and Mrs. Hull.

PROVERBS FOR U.S. FARMERS

IN his campaign to conserve flour Mr. La Guardia, director of UNRRA, suggested a text for US farmers during a recent broadcast: Proverbs xi, 26. This verse reads:

"He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him; but blessing shall be upon the head of him that selleth it."

Without divulging the contents of his text, Mr. La Guardia closed his broadcast with the terse comment:

"Aside from the fact that a very good price is being paid, this comes from a very high authority."

—Quoted by Peterborough in the Daily Telegraph.

Exercise "Bowler"

WHAT chiefly catches the audience's attention in "Exercise Bowler" at the Arts. is not what the authors have to say so much as the way in which they say it. This is a pity, for what they have to say is by no means unimportant. The way in which they say it is a welcome symptom of that "proscenium-busting," or departure from the picture-frame stage, which is beginning to penetrate even the West End. But if you are going to use new and arresting techniques, you must be sure to say something even newer and more arresting, and that clearly; otherwise we shall be forced to give too much attention to the technique and too little to the point.

This play, which is good enough to be worth criticizing severely, suffers from a shapelessness which no technical innovations can excuse or disguise (each act is a play by itself, and the first is unfortunately the best), and from a certain timidity of statement. Its story of three soldiers, first showing us what the fighting was like, then what civvy-street is like, then what will have to be done (perhaps) to save the world from the Powers of Evil, ought to have been far more moving. It should not have shirked, as I think it did, some of its biggest issues and most dramatic moments. If you are going to explore such vital problems, then explore deeply and courageously; the subjects demand nothing less.

The acting is adequate but undistinguished, though Marjorie Stewart's performance has quality, and so has Torin Thatcher's. Geoffrey Keen, in a showier part than some, manages to miss the emotional boat (and a personal success) by deliberately not catching it; but this is a habit in the contemporary theatre.

Still, "Exercise Bowler" is worth a dozen of your popular West End pieces, and we should be grateful for the chance of seeing it. It is the kind of play which leads to others; it has a life of its own.

R. H. WARD.

A CORTEGE OF VICTORY

The Rev. J. G. Seebold, vicar of Royston, near Barnsley, makes this comment in his parish magazine on Victory parades:

"STRIP the glamour of war from victory celebrations.

"Instead of rifles and gun carriages there should be crutches and spinal carriages. Instead of tanks there should be lorry loads of wreckage; lorries piled high with coffins.

"Following these would come thousands of aged parents, bowed with grief, from whom the sun has gone out of life. Then the widows and fatherless children...

"Some of the vast legion of VD sufferers, with their poor idiotic children—victims of the war spirit.

"In a real procession would come tens of thousands of little ones, with their ribs showing through their skins with rickets, for flags—an endless line of banners with the names of the fallen.

"Loudspeakers would proclaim the sorrow of the hopeless and bereaved, whose sobs would take the place of cheering."

—Daily Mail, May 3.

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MEETINGS, &c.

LONDON. HOLBORN Hall, Thurs., May 23, 7.30 p.m. "Germany from the Inside." Fenner Brockway will talk on his recent visit to Germany. I.L.P.

LONDON. W.C.2. Kingsway Hall, Fri., May 24, 1.15 p.m. "Austria and the Peace." Dr. Heinrich Schmid, Lunch-hr. mtgs. Programme, National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

STREATHAM COMMON, Sun., May 19, 6.30 p.m. Donald Port, Ken Woodroffe.

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LITERATURE, &c.

UNITARIAN PUBLICATIONS. "Unitarian Ideals and Realities," W. Lawrence Schroeder, M.A. This and other publications sent on receipt of stamp; also information on Unitarianism. Apply by letter to Rev. Helen L. Phillips, 14 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

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BRITAIN MUST DISOWN ROMANTIC POLICIES

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

appeal to the exploited proletariat can hardly fail to undermine any merely nationalist government. Russia has it in her power to give the fellahin of Egypt and their counterparts in Persia and the Arab countries the best they can hope for: strong government and some material care for the underdog.

Brief privilege

PROBABLY there will be a period during which nationalist governments will try to make some accommodation with Russia. During this period the needy native intelligentsia will try to fix themselves on the backs of the proletariat. But the term of their privilege must needs be brief. They have neither the intention nor the capacity to establish an efficient and non-venal government machine. The Communists will find it easy to organize the discontent and downright misery of the people against them; and the nationalists will find it impossible to use strong measures to repress them, because they will be terrified of the Russian reaction.

On the face of it, nothing can prevent Russia from dominating the whole of the Middle East. And it does not seem possible for an honest man to say it would be other than an improvement—for the mass of the people—on what they have experienced under British domination, or are likely to experience under "independent" nationalist governments.

Bald-headed capitalism

HENCE, from the point of view of those who dream of gentle progress in the Middle East, the importance of involving USA in a common responsibility with Britain for some peaceful solution of the intractable problem of Palestine. But, in the first place, USA is not going to play ball. There is something indecent in the haste with which President Truman endorsed the recommendation of the Palestine Committee that 100,000 new Jewish immigrants should be admitted, while ignoring the rest of the recommendations. That is democratic politics at

its worst; and the worst of democratic politics is pretty putrid.

In the second place, even if USA did play the game what would be the long-term advantage? The bald-headed capitalism of USA has nothing of permanent benefit to give the Middle East; and there is the danger that, with the USA involved, we should be tempted to take a stronger line than reason could justify.

Exhausted mandate

WHAT seems important is that Britain should dissociate herself definitely from the romantic pro-Arab policies in which she has so long indulged. Would it really be so disastrous if Britain simply left the Jews and the Arabs to settle the matter themselves? The Arabs would have a very tough job before them if they tried to push the Jews back into the Mediterranean. And I doubt whether they would attempt to do so.

What is pretty clear to me is that the British mission "to keep the peace" in the Middle East ought to be regarded as a mandate that is exhausted, as it is in India. So long as Britain tries to hold the ring, so long the fire-eaters on either side behave like licensed lunatics. And even if the practical results were better than they are, Britain can no longer afford the running expenses of the *Pax Britannica*. Neither of the two major powers in the world today believes for a moment that Britain is disinterested in keeping it; USA has no intention of sharing the burden, Russia would like to increase it. It is a fantastic position, really.

Suez in the Atomic Age

MOREOVER, the motives for clinging to our "mission" are surely quite obsolete. The fact that we were all taught as schoolboys that the Suez Canal was the choicest bit of the life-line of the British Empire is quite irrelevant today. In 1946 the British Empire consists of life-line only. And the British Commonwealth obviously has no intention of turning itself into a federation: witness the very deliberate abstention of Canada from the recent conference of Ministers.

And how on earth, in the atom-bomb era, do you keep the Suez Canal open if a great power wants to shut it? To base British policy on the defence of the Suez Canal is a plain anachronism. Common sense demands that Britain should reduce her commitments to the minimum: that she should restrict the scope of the *Pax Britannica* to countries and peoples who definitely prefer it to anything else and are willing to help to pay for it—under another name, of course.

Scientists and Secrets

THE case of Nunn May, the atomic scientist, who pleaded guilty to the charge of communicating official secrets to unauthorized persons, and received the heavy sentence of ten years' penal servitude, raises unanswerable questions. It is no secret that the person to whom he communicated the information was an agent of Soviet Russia. Neither is there much doubt that, like a good many other

young scientists today, he regarded Soviet Russia as having a higher claim on his loyalty than his own country. To that extent his action proceeded from moral, or political, conviction.

Though we ourselves regard this idolatry of the USSR by the younger scientists as pernicious, and based on a perverted conception of science as well as an unrealistic conception of Soviet Russia, we have difficulty in reconciling ourselves to a sentence so severe. Undoubtedly, the intention of the judge was to make the sentence a deterrent. And we cannot deny that the intention is justified. But we hope that May will not be treated as a common criminal—that he will be given facilities to continue his research work, and that, as soon as it is acknowledged that the atomic "know-how" is common property, he will be released.

But May's action cannot honestly be represented as the protest of a representative of science against atomic secrecy. If that had been his intention, he would have acted quite differently.

U.S. PACIFISTS' FAST AGAINST COLOUR BAR

Two American COs are maintaining a determined stand against racial segregation in US prisons, says *The Call* (Mar. 25). They are Bayard Rustin and Rodney Owen who were transferred from Ashland, Kentucky, for their leadership in a work strike against the colour bar. On arrival at Lewisburg (Pa.) jail they went on hunger strike for the same reason. There they were kept in solitary confinement and were forcibly fed from March 7.

It is the policy of the US Public Health Service doctors at the jail to delay forcible feeding until the fasting inmate loses consciousness; and that usually takes from three to four weeks. It is therefore probable that these two stalwarts had been fasting since mid-February. The men say they "will eat when voluntary mingling is promised."

BILL WILKINS : NEW TRIAL

W. R. Wilkins, the Brighton C.O., is to be court-martialled again.

On May 5, after absconding himself from his Unit, he surrendered to the civil police and then reported at Aldershot in civilian clothes. He is now charged with absence without leave and refusing to put on uniform.

Bill Wilkins, who refused service while in the Army in Italy, was sentenced to ten (reduced to five) years penal servitude, but this was suspended earlier in the year.

ARTHUR PONSONBY

A London memorial meeting in appreciation of Lord Ponsonby is fixed for Fri., June 21. The Bishop of Birmingham and Sir Charles Trevelyan are among the speakers, and readings will be given by Richard Ward. Further details will appear as they are fixed.

APPEALS FOR 450,000 P.O.W.s.

Send them home soon

A STATEMENT issued by the Society of Friends "appeals to men of goodwill to consider the effects of the prolonged detention of prisoners of war in this country," none of whom know how much longer they will be kept here.

The appeal recalls that "our Government, on March 13, 1946, stated that it continues 'to observe the spirit of the Geneva Convention,'" and urges that "the spirit of the Convention requires that prisoners shall be repatriated as soon as possible after the end of hostilities. Their indefinite detention in this country because of their value as a 'labour force' is wrong.

"The relatives of many German prisoners are now in great distress, and the men themselves are anxious about them. Hitherto, they have not been allowed to send home their meagre earnings."

The statement asks that prisoners "should be told now the approximate date of their return home."

"The removal of their sense of injustice is required as a step to the development of their goodwill as future citizens of the new Europe."

Help them now

NEARLY 120,000 German prisoners of war will have arrived in this country from Canada and USA by the end of June. It is estimated that there will then be about 450,000 PoWs.

The Friends' Aliens Section are anxious to cater for some of the intellectual and occupational needs of these and are renewing their appeal for books, musical instruments, music scores and occupational materials. The magnificent response that the appeal has already received has enabled them to distribute a large number of books and gifts to prisoners already in this country but with this large influx of men from America the demand will far exceed the supply.

In some camps the library consists of only a handful of books for some hundreds of men. In many cases the prisoners are eager to form orchestras but are handicapped for lack of instruments and scores.

Readers have already responded generously to this appeal but there are probably still quite a number of PPU groups and individuals who have not yet done so. If they were under the impression that the need had been met they may be assured that it is now greater than ever.

Books and gifts should be sent to the secretary, Friends' Aliens' Section, Bloomsbury House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.

Basic Issues

This is the third section of the draft interim report of the International, Industrial and Social Order Committee of the PPU.

Comment and criticism will be welcomed by the committee in preparing the final draft, and should be sent to its Secretary, Dr. A. K. Jameson, at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

MAN AS PRODUCER AND CONSUMER

(A) Analysis of the existing situation

THE outstanding characteristics of modern industrial civilization are the desire of big industrialized States for maximum export trade in manufactured goods and industrial specialization to secure this: in general, the dominance of the profit motive. The moral and spiritual effects of this are as follows:

1. Money has become the measure of most things.
2. Society has been so divided into conflicting sections that any ultimate unity is rendered impossible.
3. A highly specialized industrial system has led to monopolistic and centralized (private or public) control of the means of production, whereby the individual is deprived of independence and becomes either a wage slave or a member of a slave State.
4. Work has become depersonalized; that is to say, factory administrative and distributive workers all tend to become sub-human because they are denied opportunities to exercise responsibility, intelligence, initiative and creative effort. There is also a lack of contact between executives who plan and workers who carry out, between specialized operatives and the completed article, between producer and consumer. In these conditions conscientiousness and pride in the work are at a discount and the attainment of the social ideal by which every man's work should be an important part of his fulfilment is rendered impossible.
5. There has thus arisen a false distinction between work and leisure. Work is increasingly regarded as something devoid of intrinsic value to the worker and to be endured only as a means of acquiring money. Therefore leisure assumes a false importance as a mere relief from work. The absence of satisfaction in work leads to a frantic search for compensation in leisure and this is met by the commercial provision of mass excitement and amusement.
6. Industrial and commercial specialization leads to urban agglomerations, thus divorcing man from that contact with nature which history shows to be the basic condition of a healthy society and an enduring civilization.
7. The products of industrial methods which deny satisfaction to the worker are themselves deficient in individuality and therefore unsatisfying to the consumer; there are qualities in the work of the craftsman which cannot be achieved by mass production.
8. The necessity of cheapness in production for profit has led to a sacrifice of quality for quantity, to the decline of taste and to the creation of a multitude of unnecessary wants.
9. For the same reasons, the primary producers are kept poor because of the small returns on agricultural produce, except in times of war, in consequence of which they are unable to maintain the fertility of their soil. Land is neglected or treated as merely so much mineral capital to be exploited for the sake of immediate profit, so that it is soon exhausted.
10. Food produced from land thus impoverished is deficient in vital qualities and suffers further deterioration from the industrial processes to which it is subjected before it reaches the consumer.
11. The necessity of controlling vast, highly centralized industries leads to political despotism and industrial regimentation, while the necessity of maintaining these industries leads to fierce competition for markets and to periodical slumps, resulting inevitably in war.
12. The demand for profit and maximum industrial production generates social as well as international fears and antagonisms which are of the nature of war. In other words, modern industrialism is inseparable from war at one level or another.

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